the state. The occupational score for the Wilmington area's white workers was below the state average in 1900 but jumped well white workers following the 1898 campaign. It is interesting to note that the occupational score and SEI for both Wilmington's black and white residents were in close proximity in 1900, with only a few tenths separating the two scores. By 1910, the disparity between the two sets of scores is much larger, with Wilmington's black population staying at much the same level. By 1920, the numbers for the occupational score were slightly closer, with whites still working in more higher paying jobs than blacks. The SEI score difference, however, is great in that year, with nearly 7 points separating the two races, indicating that whites enjoyed a higher status level and economic return with their jobs.

**Case Studies**

Demographic study of some of the key participants in 1898 shows that a shift took place in the city over the decade following the riot. A primary reason for this shift was that of the 33 men who were members of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned by whites, most were over the age of 40, with the largest majority of the men over 50. Many of the men on the committee remained in the city and withstood the changes in society created by the whirlwind of 1898. Some of the men, such as Daniel Howard, John G. Norwood, and Thomas Rivera, were longtime leaders of the community and died within a few years of the riot, leaving their estates to children or relatives who then moved from the city once their connection to Wilmington's stable past was gone.[47] Within the white community, most participants in the Democratic Party campaign were also over 40 although the average age of the men who were part of the Secret Nine was 37. Many of these leading white men were related to each other either by blood or marriage, further strengthening their ties to each other and the community. The aging black population with entrenched history in the city was replaced by a younger group with less of a connection to the city's infrastructure, and the younger white population built upon its already tight network of family and business relationships. [48]

Case studies of seven of the major African American targets provide a tangible understanding of the amorphous concept of shifting economic roles. Analysis of Daniel Howard, John G. Norwood, Isham Quick, Thomas C. Miller, John Goins, Elijah Green, and John C. Dancy provides insight into many of the changes that faced Wilmington's residents after 1898. Of these men, only one, Thomas C. Miller, was physically banished by the white leaders of the mob and coup d'etat on November 10. John Goins, an employee of Alex Manly's *Record*, left the city because of his association with the paper. The rest of the

[47] Daniel Howard died in 1909 and left the bulk of his substantial estate to be divided equally among his living children. By the 1910 census, only two of his sons were living in the city, and both were renting their homes instead of living in property they owned as a result of their father's estate division. John Norwood's children were also scattered after 1898, with only two of his sons living in the city in 1900. By 1910, all of his sons were living in northern states. Rivera's adopted son, Thomas, moved his father's undertaking business to Durham in 1906, the year his father died. For more information on these and other African American families, see Appendix A.

[48] Approximate ages for the men were taken from the 1880 and 1900 census. Men such as Junius Davis, John Crow, Hardy and Henry Fennell, William R. Kenan, James Sprunt, William B. McKoy, Donald and Hugh MacRae, Iredell and Thomas Meares, Roger Moore, George Morton, Walter Parsely, George Rountree, Walker and J. Alan Taylor, Alfred M. Waddell, and Charles Worth were all inter-related through intermarriage or blood kinships.